

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SS-07 SSO-00 NSC-06 NSCE-00 H-03

AID-01 /026 W

----- 075884

O 071236Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1951

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FOR EUR/SOV

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (HUMPHREY, HUBERT AND SCOTT, HUGH), UR

SUBJECT: CODEL HUMPHREY/SCOTT

REF: ROBERT BARRY'S TELEPHONE MESSAGE JULY 6

EMBASSY SENT TO CODEL AT ROSSIYA HOTEL 20 COPIES OF  
ENGLISH TASS SUMMARY OF SUSLOV'S SPEECH AFTERNOON JUNE 30,  
WHICH GAVE ESSENTIALLY COMPLETE TRANSLATION OF POINTS MADE  
BY SUSLOV. WE TRANSMIT HERewith TEXT OF TASS ENGLISH SUMMARY;  
REQUEST SOV PASS TO PAT HOLT AT SFRC.

" THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF THE SOVIET  
OF THE UNION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET M.A. SUSLOV ALSO SPOKE  
AT THE MEETING.

A LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR HAS PASSED SINCE A DELEGATION FROM THE  
USSR SUPREME SOVIET VISITED THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT THE  
INVITATION OF THE US CONGRESS, M.A. SUSLOV SAID. TODAY WE HAVE THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME IN OUR COUNTRY A RETURN DELEGATION OF MEMBERS  
OF THE US SENATE. YOUR ARRIVAL, AS WELL AS THE ARRIVAL OF A DELE-  
GATION OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS,  
EXPECTED IN AUGUST, STRENGTHENS OUR VIEW THAT FAVORABLE CONDITIONS  
ARE BEING CREATED FOR THE EXPANSION OF DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE  
PARLIAMENTS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

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I THINK YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT YOUR PRESENT RETURN VISIT

MAY BE REGARDED AS A NATURAL OUTCOME OF THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE CLIMATE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN WHICH IMPORTANT POSITIVE CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT YEARS.

IT WOULD SEEM TO US THAT THESE CHANGES, APART FROM BEING AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE OVERALL PROCESS OF THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION, HAVE, IN THEIR TURN, RENDERED AND CONTINUE TO RENDER A FAVORABLE EFFECT ON THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, REDUCING FIRST OF ALL THE THREAT OF A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR WAR AND HELPING TO ASSERT THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

DIRECT PERSONAL CONTACTS OF THE LEADERS OF THE USSR AND THE USA, AFFORDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR A BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AND OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN IMPROVING AND DEVELOPING RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. IT IS AS A RESULT OF THE FOUR SUMMIT MEETINGS OF RECENT YEARS THAT DOCUMENTS OF SUCH CRUCIAL SIGNIFICANCE HAVE BEEN ADOPTED AS THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA, AND THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, AND THAT THE VITALLY IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS REGARDING STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS WERE REACHED.

THE WORLD TODAY IS ENTERING A RESPONSIBLE PERIOD WHEN THE TASK OF IMPLEMENTING THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS COOPERATION IN DAY-TO-DAY PRACTICAL AFFAIRS IS BEING PUT IN THE FOREFRONT. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THIS PROCESS DOES NOT DEVELOP SMOOTHLY, IT IS NO PLAIN SAILING. IT IS NECESSARY TO OVERCOME THE FRENZIED RESISTANCE OF THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO, IN WORDS PAYING HOMAGE TO SLOGANS OF PEACE, INDEED COUNT ON REVIVING COLD-WAR POLICIES AND CALL FOR SPEEDING UP THE ARMS RACE, FOR HOSTILE ACTIONS AGAINST THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM, DETENTE CAN AND MUST BE DEEPENED FURTHER.

I CANNOT BUT REMARK THAT THE IMPRESSION IS GROWING HERE IN THE SOVIET UNION, M.A. SUSLOV WENT ON TO SAY, THAT OF LATE THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITIES IN THE US. THEY ARE MAINTAINING THAT RELAXATION BENEFITS THE SOVIET UNION ALONE, THAT THE US AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE NO USE

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FROM IT. ONE CANNOT HELP WONDERING OVER DISCOURSES ABOUT WHO STANDS TO GAIN FROM DETENTE, AND WHO TO LOSE, THAT IS, WHO WILL GAIN AND WHO WILL LOSE BY LIVING UNDER CONDITIONS OF STRENGTHENING PEACE AND OF DIMINISHING THE DANGER OF WAR.

SOMETIMES WE ARE TOLD THAT ATTEMPTS TO QUESTION THE BENEFICIALNESS OF DETENTE ARE MADE FOR PURELY INTERNAL

POLITICAL AND TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. BUT AS GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE LEONID BREZHNEV SAID RECENTLY IN HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE VOTERS, WE ARE CONVINCED, TO PUT IT FRANKLY, THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE IS A TOO SERIOUS THING FOR THIS AND SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS TO BE SUBORDINATED TO SOME TRANSIENT CONSIDERATIONS OR CALCULATIONS.

NO DOUBT, PEACE IS EQUALLY NEEDED BY ALL PEOPLES WHATEVER THEIR IDEOLOGIES. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL STATES TO HAVE THE DANGER OF A WORLD NUCLEAR WAR REMOVED. THIS IS THE MAIN BASIS FOR JOINT EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY.

IT CAN HARDLY BE DOUBTED THAT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE LONG-RANGE INTERESTS OF DESTINIES OF OUR PEOPLES AND THOSE OF THE WHOLE OF MANKIND, MEASURES DESIGNED TO REMOVE SECURELY THE DANGER OF A NUCLEAR WAR PRACTICALLY HOLD THE MOST IMPORTANT OR EVEN CENTRAL PLACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

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AID-01 /026 W

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O 071236Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1952

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FOR EUR/SOV

MIKHAIL SUSLOV THEN DWELT ON THE AGREEMENT AND UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA CONCERNING THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AND REMOVAL OF THE DANGER OF A NUCLEAR WAR. WE, HE SAID, SET GREAT STORE BY THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE LEONID BREZHNEV AND US PRESIDENT GERALD FORD DURING THEIR VLADIVOSTOK MEETING CONCERNING A NEW LONG-RANGE AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION

OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE PRINCIPLED PROVISIONS AGREED UPON AT SUMMIT LEVEL ALONGSIDE THE LIMITATION OF THE TOTAL AMOUNTS OF STRATEGIC ARMS ARE ALSO REMARKABLE IN THAT THEY CONTAIN SUCH A NEW FEATURE AS THE FIRST STEPS TO LIMIT ARMS QUALITATIVELY AND WHAT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, THEY AIM AT A CONTINUOUS AND, MOREOVER, PROGRESSING CHARACTER OF JOINT EFFORTS IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION. IN THIS CONTEXT I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE SPECIAL NOTE OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED THAT NEW TALKS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND A POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS WILL BEGIN LONG BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THE TERM OF THE NOW-PREPARED AGREEMENT WHICH COVERS, AS IS KNOWN, A PERIOD TILL 1985.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV THEN SPOKE OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA ON THE LIMITATION OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS, STRESSING THAT THE SOVIET UNION CAME OUT FOR A MORE RADICAL AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE. THE SOVIET UNION, M.A. SUSLOV SAID, HAS RATIFIED THIS TREATY. AS TO THE AMERICAN SIDE IT HAS NOT YET STARTED THE RATIFICATION PROCESS, TYING UP THIS UNCLASSIFIED

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QUESTION WITH A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV THEN STRESSED THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THE SOVIET UNION ATTACHES TO THE DRAFTING OF THE CONVENTION BANNING THE MODIFICATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

AS A RESULT OF THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN RECENT YEARS, MIKHAIL SUSLOV WENT ON, IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO SOME EXTENT TO RESTRAIN THE ARMS RACE IN CERTAIN AREAS. BUT UNFORTUNATELY, THE ARMS BUILD-UP HAS NOT BEEN DONE AWAY WITH. TRUE, WITHOUT THESE AGREEMENTS, THE ARMS RACE WOULD BE STILL MORE INTENSIVE AND DANGEROUS, BUT A FACT REMAINS A FACT. THE ARMS BUILD-UP CONTINUES. THIS REPRESENTS AN ACUTE AND PRESSING PROBLEM.

IN CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS, THE UNITED STATES INCLUDED, MILITARY BUDGETS KEEP SWELLING. THE SOVIET UNION BELIEVES THAT THINGS SHOULD DEVELOP IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION. WE ARE FOR THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS AND URGE OTHER POWERS TO DO SO. OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN AND REMAINS A FIRM ADVOCATE OF ARMS LIMITATION AND REDUCTION, AN ADVOCATE OF DISARMAMENT.

THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS CAN BE CONSOLIDATED AND DEVELOPED ONLY PROVIDED THERE IS A CONSISTENT ARMS REDUCTION WITH A PROSPECT OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IN VIEW. THIS GIVES ADDED URGENCY OF THE NEED FOR ENSURING THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL STATES IN THE EXISTING AGREEMENTS OF THIS KIND AND TO ACHIEVE AN EARLIEST CONVOCATION OF A WORLD

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT AND A REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BREED THE DANGER OF CREATING NEW, STILL MORE FRIGHTFUL TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. IT IS BECOMING IMPERATIVE THAT ALL STATES, IN THE FIRST PLACE THE BIG POWERS, SHOULD CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT BANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF MASS-DESTRUCTION WEAPONS. WE THINK, THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, ACTING IN THE SAME DIRECTION, COULD MAKE A NO SMALL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS.

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BECAUSE OF THE ROLE PLAYED OBJECTIVELY BY THE USSR AND THE USA IN THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD, BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TOWARD IMPROVING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE KEY REGIONS OF THE WORLD. I SHOULD LIKE TO MENTION IN THIS CONNECTION SUCH A CONTINENT AS EUROPE. CERTAIN POSITIVE CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE HERE IN APPROACHING THE

SOLUTION OF SUCH A MAJOR PROBLEM AS THAT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE IS NOW DRAWING TO A CLOSE. CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. NO DOUBT THIS WAS FACILITATED, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, BY THE REALIZATION OF CORRESPONDING UNDERSTANDINGS RECORDED IN THE JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN DOCUMENTS. BUT THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY CERTAIN WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS STILL HAMPERS A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE'S WORK. WE THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD CONTRIBUTE MORE ACTIVELY TOWARD THE EARLIEST TRANSITION TO THE LAST PHASE OF THIS CONFERENCE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT NEW BIG STEPS CAN BE MADE TOWARD A MORE STABLE PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD OVER. THIS WILL BE FACILITATED BY A SUCCESSFUL AND EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE AT SUMMIT LEVEL.

SPEAKING ABOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, MIKHAIL SUSLOV NOTED THAT THE MAIN THING IN OUR APPROACH IS THE PRINCIPLE THAT A REDUCTION SHOULD BE EFFECTED IN SUCH A WAY THAT WOULD NOT UPSET THE BALANCE ESTABLISHED IN THAT AREA AND WOULD NOT HARM

THE SECURITY OF ANY SIDE.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 H-03 SS-07 SSO-00 NSC-06 NSCE-00

AID-01 /026 W

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O 071236Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1953

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FOR EUR/SOV

DWELLING ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, MIKHAIL SUSLOV STRESSED THAT THE SOVIET UNION CONSISTENTLY COMES OUT FOR RESOLVING THE CENTRAL, KEY QUESTIONS OF A SETTLEMENT, WITHOUT WHICH THE ATTAINMENT OF A LASTING MIDDLE-EAST PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE. HE REMARKED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RESUMING, GIVEN DUE PREPARATION, THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE FOR DISCUSSING THE ENTIRE COMPLEX OF MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED SIDES, INCLUDING A UN REPRESENTATIVE.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV NOTED THAT COORDINATED USSR-USA ACTIONS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION COULD ENSURE AN EARLY SETTLEMENT IN THIS AREA AND EXTINGUISH THE DANGEROUS HOTBED OF WAR SMOLDERING THERE.

THEN MIKHAIL SUSLOV TOUCHED UPON THE QUESTION OF USSR-USA TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE, HE SAID, HAS REPEATEDLY REMINDED THAT TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA SHOULD NOT BE TIED TO QUESTIONS HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH TRADE AND BELONGING AMONG THE INTERNAL COMPETENCE OF THE SOVIET STATE, JUST AS OF ANY STATE GENERALLY.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV RECALLED THAT, FOLLOWING THE CONGRESS' ADOPTION OF A DISCRIMINATORY TRADE BILL, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATED THAT IT DID NOT FIND IT POSSIBLE TO PUT INTO EFFECT THE 1972 TRADE AGREEMENT UNDER THE

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TERMS STIPULATED BY THAT ACT.

NATURALLY, NO OTHER RESPONSE TO THE BILL PASSED BY THE CONGRESS COULD BE EXPECTED FROM US.

SO, AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS BY THE US CONGRESS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED.

HOW DO WE SEE THE PREVAILING SITUATION? AFTER ALL, WE SHALL GO ON SUCCESSFULLY DEVELOPING OUR ECONOMY, EVEN WITHOUT THE BENEFITS THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE WOULD FURNISH. YET, MIKHAIL SUSLOV WENT ON TO SAY, WE CANNOT BUT REALIZE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE USA ON AN EQUAL, NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS IS DOUBTLESSLY AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN IMPROVING SOVIET-AMERICAN POLITICAL RELATIONS. IN THIS SENSE THE DAMAGE INFLICTED ON THESE TIES AFFECTS THESE RELATIONS AS WELL.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS PLENTY OF PARTNERS; AT PRESENT IT IS SUCCESSFULLY DEVELOPING TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH 90 COUNTRIES ON THE BASIS OF TRADE AGREEMENTS STIPULATING THE GRANTING ONE ANOTHER OF THE MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS.

IN CONCLUSION MIKHAIL SUSLOV SAID: JUST AS THE ENTIRE SOVIET PEOPLE, DEPUTIES TO THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET GIVE UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT TO THE LINE OF OUR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT TOWARDS DEVELOPING MANIFOLD COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE FIRMLY ADHERE TO THE VIEW THAT RELAXATION IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS CAN AND MUST BE DEEPENED FURTHER. FOR THIS IT IS NECESSARY THAT OUR TWO STATES DULY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RECIPROCAL, PRECISELY RECIPROCAL, AND NOT UNILATERAL INTERESTS, AND WOULD UNDERTAKE TREATY COMMITMENTS ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. IT IS ON THIS BASIS, AS A MATTER OF FACT, THAT THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION WAS STARTED. WE HOPE OUR AMERICAN COLLEAGUES WILL TAKE A SIMILAR STAND."  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975MOSCOW09407  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750233-1106  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750781/aaaacugr.tel  
**Line Count:** 370  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CollinP0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 DEC 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 DEC 2002 by ThomasVJ>; APPROVED <22 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CODEL HUMPHREY/SCOTT  
**TAGS:** OREP, UR, (HUMPHREY, HUBERT H), (SCOTT, HUGH)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006